

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 •
Taiwan AD6

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FAMILY AND KINSHIP

583 with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *siaosiv* system
597 of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are
T an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties
(612) of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to
T strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a
T consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *siaosiv* system
T simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage
T would.

597 In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real
583 dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit
182 by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are
596 unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a
wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household
worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition,
have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their
own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family
division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown
up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to
want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *siaosiv*
system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family,
while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establish-
ment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

T Despite all this, there are indications that the *siaosiv* system is be-
T coming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Fur-
Tn ther, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it
597 is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she
583 reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son
178 of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there
are a number of possible reasons for it.

T Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54-55) explana-
Tn tions for the *siaosiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe
114 resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Tai-
597 wan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns
583 there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see
178 Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan
(62) generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men
T has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal propor-
Tn tion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a
165 son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the
174 proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortal-
(511) ity rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the gener-
ally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living
which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic
circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the
siaosiv system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

178 including a bottle works and a packing plant; and at about the same
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[274] time a flour mill was built in nearby Shantzuchiao. More recently,
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256 a drug factory employing nearly a hundred people was built in Hsulin,
278 and since the war a textile industry has developed in the market town
288 of Panchiao. Although there are still not enough positions for all
[464] those seeking employment, these developments have at least created for
some village men the possibility for something other than an agricultural
income.

At about the same time as these new resources were developing, the
need for something other than an income from agriculture was becoming
pressing in Hsiachichou. Within thirty years of their occupation of
178 Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government introduced a broad and highly
[177] effective medical program with the inevitable result that the infant
640 mortality rate over the succeeding twenty years fell dramatically.
[744] Thus while new opportunities for employment were being created the
165 future work force was increasing at a rapid rate. Even then, however,
[161] these developments would not have had a substantial effect upon the
[464] village had it not been for one further change. To work in the drug
178 factories or the textile mill at least a minimum of education is re-
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871 quired, and without such education the villagers might never have been
able to compete with more urban dwellers for employment opportunities.
[212] Fortunately an elementary school was established in Chichou in the first
decade of this century, so that by the time the shift in economy took
place the majority of the male villagers were at least literate.

The Village

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

162 United States, as in other highly industrialized coun-
464 tries, the percentage of the population in the prime work
categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of
the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that
such a large percentage of the population is dependent on
others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals
outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic
contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of
course, it is also true for industrialized countries as
well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that
entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger
age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations
(Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-
developed retirement system requires meaningful employ-
ment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education
for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most
villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age
fourteen.

163 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population ex-
• 165 plosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling
death rate which has reached an extremely low figure com-
bined with a high birth rate which has more recently
begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes
in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty
years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and
have reached a figure currently much lower than those

Table 2. Historical Demographic Rates for Taiwan
(Prior to 1950 from United Nations Demo-
graphic Yearbook, 1955; remaining from
United Nations Statistical Yearbook,
1969)

<u>Years</u>	<u>Birth Rate</u>	<u>Death Rate</u>	<u>Natural Increase</u>
1906-10	41.7	33.4	8.3
1916-20	40.4	31.0	9.4
1926-30	45.0	22.1	22.9
1936-40	45.4	20.6	24.8
1948-50	41.5	12.9	28.6
1955	39.5	6.9	32.6
1960	34.5	5.7	28.8
1965	28.5	5.5	23.0

recorded for Western industrialized nations.⁷ No corresponding change occurred in the birth rate until the most recent period. Surveys now indicate a growing desire for smaller families (M. Yang, 1962:69-71) and modern birth control practices are gaining in popularity, particularly the use of "Intra-uterine Devices" (I.U.D.).

163 The natural increase is still very high but the situation seems to be coming under control. An annual growth rate of 30.0 (3%) means a doubling of a population in just over 25 years. W. Thompson extended current growth rates in 1958 to suggest that the population of Taiwan in 1980 would likely number about 18 million (1959:363) provided the necessities of life could be supplied in about the existing amounts per capita. He further added that [43] as an isolated economic unit, even with a modest population increase of one per cent per year, it was unlikely that Taiwan would be able to maintain her present per

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434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

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- 165 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly identical increase rates. Many village women are now practicing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

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Social Organization

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Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
466 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
• [165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were
widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them
subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously
injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing
arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in San-
lei lost his right hand the year before we started the
study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, sili-
cosis or the black death. The latter probably also con-
tributes to the higher than average incidence of tuber-
culosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a
disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general.
No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and
one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tubercu-
losis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to
be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines
because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise
have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for
as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on
his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain
high. There is no other job which allows a man so much